

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-12

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APPROVED BY EA:W SULLIVAN
EA/PRCM:D ANDERSON (SUBS)
EUR/SOV:K BROWN (SUBS)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205937

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, CH, JA

SUBJECT: JAPAN-CHINA PFT

1. ON AUGUST 12, JAPANESE POLITICAL COUNSELOR ARIMA AND
FIRST SECRETARY NUMATA CALLED ON DAS SULLIVAN AND EA/J
COUNTRY DIRECTOR ON INSTRUCTIONS TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING
POINTS WITH REGARD TO THE JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
TREATY:

A. THE TREATY WAS SIGNED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS SONODA AND
HUANG AT 6-7 AM WASHINGTON TIME AUGUST 12 IN PEKING.

B. THE PURPOSE OF THE TREATY, AS STATED IN ARTICLE 8 OF
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF SEPTEMBER 1972, IS TO STRENGTHEN
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AND DEVELOP PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS. NEGOTIATIONS
HAD STARTED IN NOVEMBER 1974.

C. JAPAN FIRMLY MAINTAINS ITS FOREIGN POLICY OF DEVELOPING
FRIENDLY AND PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS ON THE
BASIS OF FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. (ARIMA ADDED PARENTHETICALLY

THAT, AS WITH ALL OF THESE POINTS, THIS ONE WAS BEING MADE IN THE GOJ'S BRIEFING TO ALL COUNTRIES, NOT JUST TO THE UNITED STATES.)

D. THIS FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDE ON JAPAN'S PART IS CLEAR IN THE TREATY PREAMBLE WHICH NOTES THE PURPOSE OF THE TREATY AND SPEAKS OF UPHOLDING THE UN CHARTER. THIS IS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE 1.

E. THIS TREATY IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SEPTEMBER 1972 JOINT COMMUNIQUE, AND SECURING STABLE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN IS OF SIGNIFICANCE NOT ONLY TO THOSE TWO COUNTRIES BUT TO PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT ASIA.

F. WITH RESPECT TO THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE, IT IS A MATTER WHICH WAS INCLUDED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 1972 AND AGAIN INCLUDED IN THE TREATY AS A POSITION WHICH JAPAN HOLDS IN OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY. JAPAN WILL NOT SEEK HEGEMONY AND NEITHER WILL CHINA. GIVEN THAT FACT, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT JAPAN AND CHINA ARE OPPOSED TO HEGEMONY OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

G. THIS TREATY ONLY REGULATES RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA. IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THIRD COUNTRIES.
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AND DESPITE THE INCLUSION OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, THE PRECEDING SENTENCE IN ARTICLE NO. 3 (I.E., THAT THE PRESENT TREATY SHALL NOT AFFECT THE POSITION OF EITHER GOVERNMENT REGARDING ITS RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES) INDICATES THAT JAPAN IS NOT CONCERNED WITH ANY THIRD COUNTRY. MORE SPECIFICALLY, JAPAN HAS NO INTENTION OF CONSIDERING ANY COUNTRY AS A HOSTILE STATE OR OF OPPOSING ANY THIRD COUNTRY. EACH GOVERNMENT WILL MAINTAIN ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS.

H. (ARIMA THEN READ THE FOLLOWING POINT WHICH WAS TO BE A CONTINGENCY POINT "IF ASKED" ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TREATY TO THE SENKAKUS). THE FACT THAT THE SENKAKUS ARE INDIGENOUS TERRITORY OF JAPAN IS A HISTORICAL FACT AS WELL AS A FACT ESTABLISHED UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. JAPAN EXERCISES EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE ISLANDS. FONMIN SONODA REFERRED TO THIS PROBLEM IN PEKING AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO RECURRENCE OF INCIDENTS SUCH AS THAT OF THE CHINESE FISHING VESSELS WHICH VIOLATED JAPANESE TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE CHINESE SIDE SAID THAT AS FAR AS THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED, THAT INCIDENT HAD BEEN ACCIDENTAL AND WOULD NOT BE REPEATED.

1. THE CHINESE SIDE STATED THAT THE SINO-SOVIET TREATY IS A TREATY IN NAME ONLY, BUT HAS LOST SUBSTANTIVE MEANING.

2. DAS SULLIVAN SAID WE WERE PLEASED THAT THE TREATY HAD BEEN SIGNED. HE ASKED ARIMA WHAT SIGNIFICANCE ARIMA READ INTO PRC ACQUIESCENCE OF THE QUALIFYING PHRASE BEFORE THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. ARIMA RESPONDED THAT THE CHINESE MAY NOW RECOGNIZE THE REALITIES OF THE JAPANESE POLITICAL SCENE, I.E. THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CHINESE APPROACH TO THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT MANY VISITING DIET MEMBERS HAD SUPPORTED THE CHINESE POSITION. ARIMA ALSO AGREED THAT POLITICAL CHANGES IN PEKING SINCE 1974 MIGHT
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HAVE HAD A BEARING.

3. IN RESPONSE TO ARIMA'S QUESTION WHETHER THE TREATY SIGNING WOULD HAVE ANY BEARING ON FUTURE US-PRC RELATIONS, SULLIVAN SAID IT WOULD BE HARD TO MEASURE CAUSE AND EFFECT. BUT HE DID THINK THAT IF, AFTER THE FACT, THE CHINESE SEE THAT THERE ARE BENEFITS, OR AT LEAST NO VISIBLE COSTS, IT MIGHT ENCOURAGE THEM IN A COURSE OF GENERAL FLEXIBILITY WHICH WOULD BENEFIT THE UNITED STATES.

4. ARIMA ALSO WAS OBVIOUSLY SEEKING A FAVORABLE US REACTION TO THE STATEMENT IN 1.C ABOVE ABOUT JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY BEING BASED ON FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. SULLIVAN STATED THAT WE FOUND THIS STATEMENT FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR OWN VIEW THAT THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR ASIAN POLICY IS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN.
CHRISTOPHER

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